THE

Hindu Message

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from the Hindu Standpoint.

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CONTENTS.

A Vision of India:
Indian Colonisation,
By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri, B.A., B.L. 113
Great Thoughts: 113
Events of the Week. 114
Leader:
The Present Political Outlook. 115
Social and Religious:
The Bhagavad Gita.
By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri, B.A., B.L. 117
Reviews: 118
Miscellaneous:
Some Letters of Mahatma Gandhi.
Translated by A. Rama Iyer, M.A. 119
The Essential Problem. 119
Is the Congress for Religious Reform?—II.
By G. Harischandra Row. 121
The Influence of the Press on the Development of Empire.
By The Right Hon. Viscount Burnham C.H. 122

The Hindu Message stands for

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(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

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A Vision of India.

INDIAN COLONISATION.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

The Indian flag flew o'er the far off west;
And o'er the radiant eastern waters shone.
It fluttered gaily at the gate of dawn
And was in Greece and Rome an honoured guest.
It did not bear the arrogant behest
Of heartless Power in Victory's chariot drawn,
But went with peace. Though India's might is gone
It's honoured now, not hated as a pest.
A colony went to the Arctic home
One west to Persia and further went;
One fired with fervour pure the mind of Greece
We see its Land in Borobador's dome;
It gave to Bali inner nourishment,
And lit with culture's glow the eastern seas.

Great Thoughts.

If the world believes in the existence of a soul, it must be recognized that soul-force is better than body-force; it is the sacred principle of love that moves mountains.

***

Love is the same as the force of the soul or truth—it is Truth. We have evidence of its working at every step. The universe would disappear without that force.

***

Truth must always be simple. And nothing that is simple or truthful admits of violence.

***

God is, even though the world deny Him. Truth stands even though there be no public support. It is self-sustained.

***

No country can afford to build injustice into its walls. Such material is worthless and will bring disaster. Amidst all the conflicting interests of the day, this, at any rate, should be clear: "Righteousness exalteth a nation."

***

Generally we answer abuse with a slap. A slap is returned with a double slap. The latter is followed by a kick, the kick by a bullet, and so the circle of sin widens.

***

Restraint is the law of our being. For highest perfection is unattainable without highest restraint.

***

There is a higher court than the courts of Justice, and that is the court of the conscience. It supersedes all other Courts.

***

The interests of my country are identical with my religion...............True religion is not formal religion or customary religion, but that which underlies all religions—a religion which brings man face to face with his Maker.

(From Gandhi and Non-violent Resistance—Miss Blanche Watson.)

Events of the Week

Our readers are sure to be familiar with the farce of the Reddi-Panagal episode enacted in the local Legislative Council during its February session. In replying to an attack made last month by Mr. C. R. Reddy, the Chief Minister, the Rajah of Panagal, stated that Mr. Reddy had applied to him for nomination to certain offices, implying thereby that he was actuated in his attack on the Minister by the feeling of disappointment at not getting the posts he required. Mr. Reddy thereupon categorically contradicted the Minister's statements and flatly denied having ever applied for any office. The matter was not allowed to rest there. The member for Chingleput took it up this month and tabled a friendly interpellation inquiring whether the Chief Minister had verified his statement as to Mr. Reddy's application to him for offices and whether he would be pleased to lay the correspondence on the table. The Rajah of Panagal stated in reply that he had verified his previous statement and that it was a fact that Mr. Reddy had applied to him for a membership of the District Board of Chittoor and also wrote in connection with certain other appointments viz., —the Presidentship of the Legislative Council and the Vice-Chancellorship of the University but that he would not place private letters before the Council unless he was obliged to do so by Mr. Reddy's persistence in denying having written any such letters. Mr. Reddy promised to explain the next day when the Raja of Panagal again reiterated his statement and passed on to Mr. Reddy the actual letters written by him. After a perusal of them Mr. Reddy was not inclined to controvert the Minister but made a personal explanation in the course of which he said that the letters were written to the Raja when he and the Raja were of one party and were on terms of friendship and that it was against the recognised conventions of public life to bring forward in public such matters which took place in confidence.

* * *

Referring to this incident *The Indian Social Reformer* recalls a British parallel. It says "Mr Reddy was perhaps thinking of Mr. Disraeli's bitter attack on Sir Robert Peel during the debate in the House of Commons on the Bill for the final repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. Sir Robert Peel in winding up the debate made a dignified reference to the personal attack upon himself and went on to say that if Mr Disraeli had entertained such a poor opinion of himself it was surprising that "he should have been ready, as I think he was, to unite his fortunes with mine in office implying the strongest proof which any public man can give of confidence in the honour and integrity of a Minister of the Crown." Peel made no further reference to Mr. Disraeli, but when he sat down Mr. Disraeli rose and denied emphatically that he had given such proof of confidence. He denied having ever asked a favour of Peel's Government—"not even one of those mechanical things which persons are obliged to ask. With respect to my being a solicitor for office, it is entirely unfounded." Peel said nothing more than reiterate his statement. The letter written to Peel by Mr. Disraeli in 1841 was published in Mr. C. L. Parker's Selections from the private papers of Sir Robert Peel, more than 50 years afterwards with the following note: "The letter was kept private so long as the writer of it lived and its existence had been known to few. It is published now only to remove a doubt which has all along prevailed whether Sir Robert Peel (who left a character for strict regard to truth) on this occasion said more or less than he could prove." Sir Robert Peel seems certainly to have taken the view that a private letter addressed to him by Mr. Disraeli should not be published even under the strangest provocation. We do not, however, think that Peel's conduct in this matter should be taken as establishing a precedent. Sir Robert Peel himself writing to a colleague to whom Mr. Disraeli had applied for a place for his brother, justified the refsual to comply with the request. adding, "it is a bridle in his mouth." These incidents in public life, however, do not seriously come in the way of the career of a man of real merit as is well illustrated in the case of Mr. Disraeli himself who rose to be Prime Minister of England. We are sure that Mr. C. R. Reddy will survive this incident, but it is embarrassing for public men to make themselves liable to such exposures."

* * *

The present Prime Minister of England, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, has written a book named "The Awakening of India" and published it some years ago. It was given out that this book had been proscribed by the Government of India recently. The *Forward* of Calcutta sent its representative a few days ago to the Imperial Library for the book but the Superintendent of the library refused to lend it on the ground that it had been proscribed and if he lent it he would get into trouble. Thereupon, in reply to an interpellation in the Legislative Assembly, the Home member of the Government of India however stated that he had made enquiries in his office and could find no trace of the book being proscribed. He added that some book of the same name might have been proscribed but not the one written by the present Premier. After this assurance the Editor of the Indian Social Reformer enquired for the book at a well-known Bombay bookseller's and was told that as the book was proscribed they had reshipped all the copies they had and now, as it is released, they expect to get some copies within a month. Isn't this very interesting! A book is proscribed and then released without any trace of the record of these orders being found in the offices of the Department concerned! The Director of Information, Bombay writes:—"I cannot understand how the mistake has arisen because 'the Awakening of India' has never been proscribed. The records of the Home Department have been searched and there is no trace of any such proscription ever having been notified. Some years ago a book by H. M. Hyndman called 'the Awakening of Asia' was proscribed and there may have been confusion between the two." All is well that ends well. We are glad to learn that the authorities have not after all proscribed the awakening of India! Perhaps they have now realised that India would awaken in spite of their proscription.

* * *

We regret to record the death at Madura of R. Krishnamachariar M.A. Vidya Nidhi, the Principal of the Ramesvaram Devastanam Pathasala. He was a native of Pudukota and a protege of the late A. Seshiah Sastrigal and R. Vedantacharlu who were successively the Dewans of that State. For a long time he was the Superintendent of Sanskrit schools. He was himself a good Sanskrit scholar and his Sanskrit style imitated Bana and his Kadambari. He was till his death the Editor of a monthly Sanskrit Journal named "Sahridaya" in which he has reviewed very critically many a Sanskrit Classic Work as also some Tamil works. His two books, Raghuvamsa Vimarsa and Meghasandesa Vimarsa are too well known to need any detailed description. He was given the title of "Vidya Nidhi" by the Sanskrit Pandits assembled at Navadvip. He was specially invited for the Sanskrit Conference at Baroda in the year 1915. His love of Sanskrit literature and his eagerness to spread it far and wide knew no bounds. His death is a distinct loss to the Sanskrit world.

* * *

The Present Prime Minister of England, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, is also his own First Lord of the Treasury and each of these two offices carry an annual salary of 5,000£. Our readers may be surprised to learn that the Prime Minster of England, one of the richest countries in the world, the average income of whose inhabitants is more than twenty times greater than that of an Indian, is paid much less than a Provincial Governor in India. In fact the salary, is a little higher than that of our Ministers and Members of Executive Councils. By combining the two offices of the Prime Minister and the First Lord of the Treasury in himself, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was entitled to draw a salary of 10,000£ per annum. Yet what do we find him doing. He has decided, we are told, to take, the salary of a single post for the dual office. What a fine example of patriotism and self-sacrifice and solicitude for the people's money. We commend this to our Ministers and Members of Councils who stick to their offices like leeches in spite of a distinct verdict of want of confidence by their countrymen.

The Hindu Message

The Present Political Outlook.

Events—political events—are moving very fast in India. Things which were not even thought of some months ago are now matters of every day occurrence. Events which were considered quite impossible six months ago have now come to pass and situations which would have been deemed as unique are now treated as of ordinary routine. It was only on the 11th of July last when opposing a resolution of Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar about the release of Mahatma Gandhi Sir Malcolm Hailey in the course of a notorious speech said :—"Mr. Gandhi has done more than any man of his generation to disturb the peace of India. He has done more to hamper her constitution and political advance. His release instead of being a help in the preservation of law and order is likely to imperil the maintenance of law and order." In fact according to Sir Malcolm Hailey "the interests of India were directly opposed to the release of men like Mr. Gandhi." And yet we find that even before the expiry of six months from the date of this wonderful observation of the Home Member, this same Gandhi, the avowed enemy of law and order, has been released *unconditionally* by the Government. We lay stress on the word unconditionally because Sir Malcolm Hailey at that time hinted that the unconditional release of the Mahatma was absolutely out of question. This event which was thought to be absolutely out of question is now an accomplished fact. Circumstances have so conspired together that the Government wisely decided to realise the truth of the old adage that discretion is the better part of valour and have accordingly released Mr. Gandhi unconditionally. And by a strange irony of Fate Lala Lajpat Rai who, in the opinion of the Government in July last, was "a danger to peace and tranquillity in Punjab" was there present in the Legislative Assembly gallery along with Mr. C. R. Das to hear the announcement of the release. As a Swarajist member declared in the lobby with an air of pride, "So after all the Government had to eat the humble pie and they have known what we are."

What is it that has happened to bring about this state of things and how are we now different to what we were before? To understand this aright we must trace the course of events during the last few months. Much water has flowed under the bridges since the dissolution of the last Councils. The country has understood aright the fundamentals of non-violent resistance. People have got disgusted with the helplessness of the members of the last Councils. They have found out that it was a mistake to have kept out of the Councils the stern and unbending Swarajists. They kept away then in obedience to the Congress mandate. So, the far-seeing among the Congressmen began to work for the raising of the ban on Council-entry. There was, of course, a hue and cry from the die-hards that the Congress would tumble to pieces if the ban was raised.

But the Council-goers, who counted among them several prominent and influential leaders, made it clear that they were determined to carry on the battle of non-co-operation within the Council-halls whether the Congress raised the ban on Council-entry or not. Even on the eve of the General Elections it was not certain what the Congress would do. But India had to march on and so the hand of God was clearly visible in the fact that the Congress allowed such of its members as wished to enter the Councils to do so. Accordingly there was intense excitement during the last General Elections and as a result the Swarajists, by which name the party of Council-goers is known, were returned in appreciable numbers to every one of the Councils. In the Central Provinces Council they had a clear majority. In the Bengal Council, though they had no absolute majority on the whole strength of the Council, yet as a party they were the biggest. Similarly in the Legislative Assembly the Swarajists did not command an absolute majority but still they formed the largest single party. As the Swarajist party is pledged to carry on their policy of non-violent resistance within the Councils the fact that they formed the strongest single party not only in many of the provincial Councils but also in the Legislative Assembly must have provided food for anxious thought for the Government. But the hand of Destiny pushed matters further. The Swarajists who are returned to the Councils, among whom we find some of the ablest and most patriotic of the sons of India, conferred together and wisely resolved that to ensure the efficacy of their policy of non-violent-resistance they should modify their original designs to suit the exigencies of the situation and work in consonance with the Independants—a body of Nationalists who are out to extract all the advantages that are possible from the Montford Reforms, quite forgetful that the greatest enemy of a great reform is small reforms—even to the extent of toning down their demands and policy to a pitch which would have the double merit of being more feasible in practice and of commanding the acquiescence of a body of independant publicists who count among them such stalwart patriots as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Mahamad Ali Jinnah, and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal.

The Swarajists and the Burma Nationalists in the Legislative Assembly number about fifty. The Independents count about twenty-five and the Moderates about twelve. All of them are against the present political order. They are all out to secure full responsible government or Government of the people, by the people and for the people. Their difference

is only as regards the question of methods. Even here none of them is for physical revolt or revolution. All of them strive for Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. Even the Swarajists are not working for a break-up of the Imperial connection or a break-up in the continuity in the life and functioning of the State. They desire simply to remove the present subjection of their country to an irresponsible foreign officialdom in the interests both of India and of the Empire. This being so, there was absolutely no reason why the Independents and even those Moderates who are not place-hunters should not agree to work together with the Swarajists for the furtherance of the common objective. So all these conferred together to find out the highest common factor of agreement between them. As a result of their deliberations the Nationalist party was formed with a strength of about seventy-five thus forming an absolute majority in a house of 144. This party contains the pick of the Assembly. The only name of repute which one can recall to mind from among the elected Moderates is that of Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao and he also has joined this party. Each one of this stalwart band of seventy-five has signed the pledge published in our last issue and has thereby sealed his compact to refuse supplies in case the Government refused to accede to the common demand. Is not this union an achievement remarkable in itself? Could anything like this have been conceived some months ago in the last Legislative Assembly? It has clearly demonstrated to the Government that they had to deal now with an Assembly which was entirely defferent in spirit to its predecessor. They found it necessary to walk warily. The members of the Party had grasped aright the spirit of non-violent resistance. From now onwards they began to work in right earnest. They had placed the release of the Mahatmaji in the forefront of their programme, but the prompt action of the Government in ordering the unconditional release before the subject came up for discussion in the Assembly took the wind out of the sails. Still it was the first of a series of triumphs which this peoples' party was determined to achieve in the Assembly. They then concentrated their attention on Mr. Rangachariar's motion asking the Governor-General in Council "to take at a very early date the necessary steps including, if necessary, the appointment of a Royal Commission for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing dominion status within the British Empire and provincial autonomy in the provinces." This resolution was discussed in full and considered in all its aspects by the newly formed Nationalist Party. They were not satisfied with it because it did not conform to the principle of self-determination. After mature deliberation the Party as a whole resolved to back up an amendment to this resolution to be moved by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru in the following terms:—"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose (a) to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities the scheme of a constitution for India and (b) after dissolving the Central Legislature to place the said scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a statute." Even before Mr. Rangachariar's resolution and Pandit Moti Lal's amendment thereon came up for discussion, the Government had a foretaste of the spirit and strength of the new Party. In the matter of the Auxiliary Force and Territorial Force the Government wisely accepted the amendment of Pandit Malaviya for a Committee and thus avoided a defeat. This sort of prompt acceptance by the Government in the delicate matter of Army administration was a thing unknown in the past. Then followed the crushing defeat of the Government in the matter of the imposition of a countervailing duty on South African coal imported into this country. The very next day came up for discussion the all-important Resolution of Mr. Rangachariar. The House was full and the galleries were overcrowded testifying thereby to the intense interest evinced by the Public in the consideration of this united demand. Mr. Rangachariar by his speech in moving this Resolution very cleverly created an atmosphere suited for the purposes of his proposition and for full discussion thereon. Sri Malcolm Hailey replied on behalf of the Government and his speech was characterised by the usual bureaucratic pose of grave responsibility. He announced that the Government was prepared to conduct a purely departmental enquiry. Nobody was taken in by this worthless bait. The bait was as poor as the speech in which it was couched was ill-conceived. Later on in the debate Dr. Gour and Mr. Jinnah tore the speech of the Home Member to pieces and held some of his argnments to ridicule. The Home Member was followed by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru the leader of the Swarajya Party who rose amidst tumultuous applause to speak for the first time in the Assembly. Never before was the Government subjected to such plain-speaking in the floor of the Legislative Assembly. He did not mince words. He spoke straight and to the point. He clearly pointed out that the preamble to the Government of India Act itself was a slur on India's honour and must forthwith be amended, if not repealed. This was the first thrust to the official benches who were hitherto taking shelter under this preamble. The Pandit declared that the preamble was as bad as it could possibly have been devised, to postpone, and stifle, and suppress the natural desire for Swaraj. The Government of India Act has done a great injustice in the preamble and in the subsequent provisions of it which refused to Indians full rights of responsible Government. The present constitution was no constitution at all; it did not even deserve that name so long as Indians had no share in drafting it. The Indians asked either for the revision or the repeal of the Act. The present position was quite untenable. Then as leader of the Swarajya Party he said in bold and pregnant words:

"The amendment did not ask for complete reponsible Government to be handed to them at once tied up in a bundle but only after a Round Table Conference had drafted the constitution and referred

it to a new Assembly and submitted to Parliament to be embodied in a statute. But there should be no conditions which Sir Malcolm Hailey had referred to. My proposition is one which has been toned down in order to meet the wishes of non-Swarajists in the Assembly. It is therefore a modest request to which there can be no possible objection even from Government. We are putting before you an honest and fair demand. It is not therefore fair to threaten us of consequences of pressing this demand. I don't think anything deserves the name of a constitution for a country if the people of that country had no voice in drafting it, The Swaraj Party has sought the sufferage of electors, not to engage itself in the humdrum business of putting questions and getting answers and in the process marked out under the acts of suceessive stages and so on. We have come here to do something which the Assembly has not been doing so far. Now we have come to offer you our co-operation, non-co-operators as we are. (Hear, hear). This is no threat. This is no new idea. We have been working outside the Councils with a definite object and that object we have still in view and we consider that object to be perfectly legitimate. Sir, we have been referred to as a party of destruction. We admit we are out to destroy things that are evil. Rightly or wrongly we think that the present reforms are a thing of evil. That is why we want to meet, to hear, discuss and come to a definite conclusion. If you care, well and good. Otherwise we agree to differ and the issues will be clarified."

After this stirring speach, clear and uniquivocal in its meaning, who can say that the Swarajists are unreasonable in their demands and if the Government persisted blindly in their obduracy as they did, they must be prepared to abide by the consequences. After adjourning the debate on two occasions, the Government on the third day also simply adhered to their scheme of departmental enquiry. Speaker after speaker showed clearly that they were a determined lot—determined once for all to mend or end the Government of India Act. But the Government did not evince any signs of a change of heart. So amidst loud non-official applause the amendment of Pandit Moti Lal was carried by the Assembly by 76 against 48 votes. Thus the die is cast. The struggle has commenced. The Government have remained obdurate. The next step is the adoption of the policy of obstruction which will commence on the 10th. of March next in a perfectly constitutional manner. Is this not a clear indication that India has begun to rerlise its *Sakti?* This Sakti which was dormant till now has now been roused up to energy. May the Almighty Lord guide it in proper channels quickly to the goal of Swaraj.

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With an English Exposition

By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri, B.A., B.L.

(The substance of the lectures delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha, Trichinopoly.)

ADHYAYA XI

(*Continued*)

अर्जुन उवाच —

दृष्ट्वेदं मानुषं रूपं तव सौम्यं जनार्दन ।
इदानीमस्मि संवृत्तः सचेताः प्रकृतिं गतः ॥ ५१ ॥

Having thus beheld Thy gracious human form, O Janardana, I have now become composed and glad in mind and have recovered myself.

NOTES:

1. Sri Ramanujacharya says that that the Lord at the request of Vasudeva who was afraid of Kamsa veiled his four-armed form and had only two arms till the death of Kamsa and that subsequently He had his four-armed form, He says further that the Lord always appeared to Sisupala in His four-armed form. "उदारपीवरचतुर्बाहुं शंखचक्रगदाधरम्."

2. Thus this is an intermediate view. But it seems to me that the view most in harmony with the balance of testimony descriptive of the Lord is the one which I have urged already. The instances of devotees who had already known and seen the Lord's divine form, the case of Arjuna who was an incarnation of Rishi Nara, and the case of His Dwarapalakas like Sisupala are not enough. In the SrimadBhagavatha 1st Skandha we find in the Bhishma Stotra: प्रसन्नहासारुणलोचनोल्लसन्मुखाम्बुजो ध्यानपथश्चतुर्भुजः ॥ It seems to me that the Lord's four-armed form was the object of contemplation and worship and was sought by some advanced devotees for the joy of beholding its glory and its beauty. Arjuna's request was in the same spirit. But ordinarily Sri Krishna had a two-armed human form. A well-known stanza says:

प्रपन्नपारिजाताय तोत्रवेत्रैकपाणये ।
ज्ञानमुद्राय कृष्णाय गीतामृतदुहे नमः ॥

Let no one think that this two-armed form was not a divine form. As already shown by me above it is the Lord's divine form in Goloka. Thus the Lord had during His Krishnavathara a two-armed form, which was however as divine in its essence as it was human in appearance. To such devotees as specially sought to see His four-armed form he showed the same. It may be said that the story of Poundraka Vasudeva in the Srimad Baghavatha is not consistent with my theory. But I do not see any thing in chapter 66 of the second part of the 10th skandha of the Srimad Bhagavatha which conflicts with my theory. The key seems to me to lie in verse 50 of this Chapter where there is certainly a differentiation between *Swakam rupam* and *Saumya Vapus* which is referred to by Arjuna in this stanza 51 as *Manusham rupam.* Further there are some words in verse 50 which throw light on the point. In the 1st half of the verse, we find the words 'स्वकं रूपं दर्शयामास भूयः' In the second half we find the words 'च' and 'भूत्वा पुनः' and 'सौम्यवपुः' These two halves of the stanza clearly refer to two different manifestations, specially the words 'भूयः' and 'पुनः' show this fact. If both the halves of the stanza refer to the same manifestation, if would have been quite enough to use one of the words.

2. Sri Madhwacharya says: स्वकं रूपं तु भ्रान्तप्रीत्या । अन्यथा तदपि स्वकमेव । His view is that the Viswarupa is as much स्वकं रूपं as the four-armed rupa and that the description of Svakam rupam in regard to the four-armed form is out of grace to Arjuna who was awe-struck when he beheld the Lord's Universal form. In an earlier portion of His *bhashya* he points out that the Lord's having such diverse divine forms is due to His Achintya Sakti: He quotes Vishnupurana which says:

अचिन्त्याः खलु ये भावा न तांस्तर्केण योजयेत् । and the Veda which says: 'नैषा तर्केण मतिरापनेया. He says further: गुणाः श्रुताः सुविरुद्धाश्च देवे सन्त्यश्रुता अपि नैवात्र शङ्का ।

3. Thus all the forms are no doubt the Lord's own forms and are divine; though His four-armed form is pre-eminently His own. But the mian question is which was the form which Sri Krishna ordinarily had during the Krishnavatara. My view is that it was His divine two armed form; His divine four-armed form was specially sought and specially shown to a few devotees (as for example to Vasudeva, to Devaki, to Arjuna, and to Bhishma) and others and his universal form was seen by Arjuna by the Lord's grace and by Sanjaya by Vyasa's grace.

Reviews.

Tirukalukunram: (Pakshi-Tirtham). Illustrated. Published by Mr. M. M. Kumaraswamy Mudaliyar, Trustee, Tirukalukunram Devastanam. Price As. 12.

This is a monograph dealing with the famous temple of Vedagiriswarar at Tirukalukunram to which pilgrims from all parts of India, and many European tourists, resort throughout the year, attracted by the unique daily visit of a pair of eagles, to which great sanctity is attached. The fact that Mr. P. V. Jagadisa Aiyar of the Archaeological Department has collaborated in the preparation of this monograph adds greatly to its value. The monograph contains all available traditions both oral and written, about the temple, the hill and the surrounding parts and is copiously illustrated with several half-tone pictures. All items of archaeological interest also are given and the several inscriptions found all over the place are summarised in an appendix at the end of the book. The discovery of a series of sculptures in the carved piers within the Temple relating to incidents connected with the coming of Suraguru to this place from Mahabalipuram close by and the series of pictures given in the book illustrating these sculptures are very interesting. Besides its sanctity as a place of pilgrimage it is a reputed health resort. The whole range of mountains abounds in various powerful medicinal herbs. The gentle wind that blows softly across the green-clad sides of the hill carries with it the aroma of these medicinal herbs and many a despairing pilgrim feels his strength revive and health return. Tuberculous patients find considerable relief by a prolonged stay here. It is said that even leprosy is cured by a bath in the sacred pond known as "Pakshi Tirtham" here. For those who wish to have an idea of the several interesting features of this popular place of pilgrimage as well as health resort we strongly recommend a perusal of this monograph for the publication of which our thanks are due to the Trustee Mr. M. M. Kumaraswamy Mudaliar.

Gandhi and Non-Violent Resistance. The non-co-operation movement of India. Gleanings from the American Press, compiled by Miss Blanche Watson. Messrs. Ganesh and Co., Madras. Price Rs. 2—8—0.

This is a very interesting compilation of the views of American writers on India. The compiler Miss. Blanche Watson is one of the staunchest friends of India in America. Her acquaintance with Indian affairs is intimate and her grasp of the principles and practical programme of the non-cooperation movement is very accurate. She has done not a little to popularise the Gospel of Gandhi in America and now she has rendered another service to India by issuing this compilation from the impressive mass of material, that, in the months since the delivery of Mr. Holmes' first sermon entitled "Who is the Greatest Man in the World today," has appeared in the press of the United States. She has, of course, chosen only such articles and extracts from articles as would present, justly and sympathetically, the case of Gandhi and the movement which is predicated in his doctrines and ideals. A perusal of this compilation would clearly show with what appreciation the genuine intelligentsia of America have been following the non-cooperation movement. The thorough nature of the compilation will be apparent when we state that it contains articles from the leading American dailies like the New York Times, the weeklies like the Nation, the Outlook, the Freeman and the Forum, the monthlies like the Atlantic Monthly and the Pearson's Magazine. Contributions from the pen of eminent Indians like Lala Lajpat Rai, Tarakanath Das and Syud Hossain, and of eminent Americans such as Miss. Agnes Smedley, Robert Morse, Norman Thomas, J. T. Sunderland, John Haynes Holmes and Miss Blanche Watson find a place in this interesting compilation. In short, every phase of the Gandhi movement is noticed and there is an appendix containiug some of Mahatma's noble letters and contributions. We have no hesitation in recommending the book to a place in the library of every one who desires to understand aright the great *Message* of "the Greatest man in the world today."

Nayarasamanjari. A high-class Tamil Monthly edited and published by A. M. Porooran Chettiar, Madras. Annual subscription Rs. 5—8—0.

We welcome this Tamil Monthly whose aim is stated to the exposition in Tamil of the priceless wealth embedded in our ancient literature in such a way as to meet the views of the modern-day critics. With this noble object in view the Editor has taken up at first the renowned Tamil classic of Mahabharata composed by the great scholar Villipputhur Alvar. The Mahabharata is considered as the fifth Veda and contains, it is said, all that ought to be known. In taking up the exposition of this grand work first, the Editor has rightly judged that he would have a vast field and ample scope for the exhibition of the glories of our ancient motherland and immense opportunities to meet the puerile criticisms of the modern-day cynics. Besides this, there appears a Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit Hitopadesa. This is a venture in the right direction and we heartly vish it every success.

The Indian Home: Egmore, Madras: Annual subscription Rs. 2—8—0

This is a monthly English Journal of modest size which was being published during the last two years under the title of "Indian Cookery." As the Journal deals with all aspects of Home life and domestic happiness and not cookery alone the change in the title is quite appropriate. The Journal is illustrated with suitable half-tones and contains a variety of interesting notes, recipes and contributions.

Eastern Philatelic Journal: Madras. Yearly subscription Rs. 1—8—0

This is a small monthly for the Philatelic hobbyist in the East and contains four pages of reading matter. It is stated that the journal is supplemented quarterly with "World's Exchange Register."

Arogya Deepika: A Tamil monthly edited by Dr. U. Rama Rao M.L.C., Madras. Annual Subscription Rs. 1—8—0.

This is the Tamil edition of Dr. U. Rama Rao's English monthly "The Health" intended for circulation in our homes. As it is absolutely essential that the principles of health and sanitation should be correctly understood in all homes the Journal deserves to succeed and we wish it an ever-widening circle of readers.

The Forum: Calcutta. Annual subscription Rs. 6.

We welcome to the ranks of Indian Journalism this sprightly English weekly from Calcutta edited by Pramatha Nath Mukhopadhyaya, who will be remembered as the first Editor of "The Servant." This journal which is issued every Saturday purports to be "a weekly Review of current problems and organ of cultural nationalism." The Editorial comments are crisp and the leading articles are thoughtful. We wish our contemporary all success and a long life of usefulness.

Miscellaneous.

Some Letters of Mahtma Gandhi.

Translated into English by A. Rama Iyer, M.A.

1

14—5—1908

Alas, poor G—is gone! I am naturally tempted to weep when I think of the death of one so near and dear to me, but I think I have succeeded in steeling my heart by constant discipline. It seems to me that we are all revolving in a vortex of Maya. And our country is just like our society. I wish to place before you at present the chief of the many thoughts that are in my mind. To speak the truth, we get our children married at an enormous expense, under a false sense of duty, or fearing for the world's censure, and end by witnessing the woes of our child-widows in helpless silence. Of course, I do not say that we should never marry at all, but I *do* think there should be a limit fixed. We are bringing much suffering on our children, by getting them married too early, and by letting them be parents prematurely. According to our religion, the object of marriage is only the birth of a child, and not mere carnal indulgence, but our practice is quite different. If this is so, are we not encouraging our children to grow up like ourselves in the path of excessive self-indulgence, by marrying them early? I for one can never regard this as a part of our religion. Though I am your younger brother, I am venturing to place these thoughts of my heart before the whole family through you; and if I am wrong, please excuse me. The thoughts which I have now taken occasion to give out, are the fruit of my fourteen years' study, and seven years' actual practice.

With prostrations,

Mohandas.

2

Johannesburg,

(To Manilal) 21—5—1908

Your letter to hand. There is no need for anxiety on my account. I am convinced that I shall have to give myself as a sacrifice. I do not believe that Gen. Smuts will be able to deceive us for ever. The people are getting restless, and are eager to sacrifice themselves in the cause. I am glad that they are getting such an occasion for sacrifice. What can be a more glorious death for me than by giving myself to a cause, which I believe to be for the good of my soul?

G—'s death was indeed a worthy death but why should the thought of death dishearten you? This world is transient, as we know. Why, then should I worry myself over the fate of my soul after leaving this world? That I should do nothing unworthy as long as I am alive,—this is all that I need wish and pray for. I cannot as yet say that I shall attain salvation in this birth, but if I can die in my present frame of mind, I shall surely attain salvation in my next birth.

With blessings,

Mohandas.

3

26—7—1908

I am writing this at midnight. I have no time to write a detailed letter. You ask me to take care of myself. But, you yourself have taught me that the "Self" cannot die, and cannot kill. If what you mean is that I should take care of my body, which is my "self," it is what the Lord has called *Maya*. Then, what is it that I have to care for? I shall, of course, take special care of myself, in the sense of trying to realise my "self" more and more; and in this process, I should certainly acquire the power of giving my body as a sacrifice.

It seems to me, after much thought, that many of our sayings and habits are quite against the spirit of religion, and that we are far from practising in our daily lives the teachings of what we regard as our greatest book. And I consider it my duty to spend my whole life in fighting against this.

With prostrations,

Mohandas.

4

(To Manilal) Wednesday,

All of us are sorely missing our G—. But we should always remember that we can never stay the hand of death. It is our duty, therefore, to cease to care so much for our body, and attain to a realisation of the self by constantly dwelling in the world of the Supreme Truth. And I am being convinced more and more that Brahmacharya is a most valuable and even indispensable instrument for this realisation.

With blessings,

Mohandas.

To be continued.

The Essential Problem.

All lovers of India must have, very often, put to themselves these two questions: What was the cause of the decline of India's greatness, and how can that cause be removed? Since the western evolutionist gave currency to the phrase "adaptation to the environment," the answer which has come readily to the lips of most people, both in India and abroad, is this: India has gone down because, and in proportion as, she has failed to adapt herself to the changing times or circumstances. In giving this answer we apply a principle which, we suppose, we have discovered in the history of the living kingdom, to the interpretation of the history of races and civilizations. This, in fact, is quite in keeping with the claim put forward on behalf of evolution that it is a "Master

Key" to the understanding of facts. Physicists of the twentieth century have even made us familiar with the notion of the evolution of matter—or what comes to the same thing—evolution of the atoms. We are here in no way concerned with an attempt to examine the claim thus put forward on its behalf on all sides. We shall concede that the laws of history are, broadly speaking, the laws of evolution: and that in particular the *curve* of the history of a given people, in its ascending and descending phases, is mainly determined by the principle of adaptation referred to above. The curve of India's history has, for example, shown a descending phase because India has, in some respects or other, been not successful in maintaining what one might call her adaptive efficiency—her capacity to change as the times and circumstances have changed.

While generally conceding this, we cannot but confess that this diagnosis of the case, published with an air of so much assurance and authority, has not very much enlightened us as regards those points in particular upon which we expected some clear light might be thrown by a "scientific" method of history. It merely points in a vague way to *something* being proverbially rotten in the State of Denmark: it simply tells us that India has lacked power, has been losing in efficiency. Even this knowledge, vague as it is, is doubtless important, since, in part at least, we can, if we so wish, convert such knowledge into power: we cannot essay to become strong if we have no knowledge that we are weak. Such knowledge becomes an incentive to effort, since all effort has its spring in a feeling of limitation, restraint or imperfection. But to know *this* is not enough. We must know *exactly* what is rotten, deficient or weak in us; or generally, we must be able to inspect the mainsprings of our strength and weakness. Now, the current diagnosis that India has declined because she has failed in her adaptation does not either give us any idea of what those mainsprings may be in us, or open up any prospect of our being able to deal with them. The diagnosis merely says by implication that India has been weak, since unsuccessful adaptation means loss of efficiency somewhere. But it does not throw any light upon the "vicious spot" and accordingly, we cannot proceed to base a course of practical treatment simply upon a diagnosis that tells that the patient has been ailing because he has lately not been stirring as he should have done. India *has* been wanting in power, but *where* and *how*?

No scientist, no historian will delight in change, pure and simple. No evolutionist will claim that life is mere drift or flux. Whatever the metaphysician may or may not say about fundamentals, no social philosopher will think that a race or civilization lives merely by changing or drifting. Adaptation to the environment will nowhere be taken to mean "dancing to the tune," or changing at the merest suggestion, of the environment. If merely to change is to live, then all races and civilisations, which have not been totally extinct and forgotten, are alive to-day, and may be alive for all time. Many of the oldest civilisations are thus alive, though they have become so completely changed that it is now well nigh impossible to recognise any suggestion of likeness of the newer forms to the older. Whether the links be missing or existing, all substantial continuity seems to have been lost between them. Between the Egypt of the Pharaohs and the Egypt of Zaglul Pasha the resemblance, if at all existing, has become very much far-fetched indeed. The same is true of many other ancient civilizations. These civilisations have changed as times have changed, and no one perhaps will claim that these have lived by thus changing. They have not lived at all—except in their indirect and collateral effects in what one might almost describe as their *post mortem* emanations or influence. There may be some justice in the positions taken up by those in India or in China who, while the charge of hugging to their bosoms old and defunct civilizations is laid at their doors, point to the fates that have overtaken many of their sister civilizations of antiquity. Where are *they*, they ask, while *we* are still in a real sense alive? That the sense in which Indian and Chinese civilizations are still alive is not only real but valuable as well, is one of the just appraisements by imaginative foreign critics, to the ranks of which Bertrand Russell, recently publishing his appreciation of China, is the latest recruit. And how does Chinese immobility—and he has apparently attached greater importance to *that* phase than to the phase of mobility—strike one of the master minds of Europe, and one of its most courageous and clear-sighted social re-constructionists? China's civilization is *alive* in so far as it has been able to keep unchanged its distinctive ideals and methods in their practical bearing on the actual institutions of life of the Chinese people. And in Bertrand Russell's judgment those distinctive ideals and methods of life are, essentially speaking, true and beautiful. It would be well if the West could see her way to importing some of those ideals and methods, and it would, on the other hand, be bad, for the East if she allowed some of the present-day Western ideals and methods to be imported into her homes. The life of China's civilization and its value lie in her power to *conserve* her ideals and methods and resist the importation and influence of those foreign ideals that would tend to disintegrate them. In other words, China can expect to live by refusing to move in a certain sense and in a certain line. And such refusal, to be conscious and effective, must be backed by power. These remarks apply to India also. India's civilization—and India has a common substratum of civilization though she nurses to-day diverse creeds and cultures on her bosom—is alive because it has retained power to conserve a part of itself in the face of an unending flux of circumstances. In other words, it has been alive mainly because it has refused to move in some respects.

The facile formula such as "adaptation to the environment" or "moving with the times", loosely used, tend to conceal the important fact, namely, life implies power to resist movement as it also implies power to move; it implies conservation or persistence as it also implies adaptation or change. It is *never* mere drift or flux. A society, constantly changing its character and complexion chameleonlike, is not a society that lives in any real and abiding sense. A thing is a thing by conservation of itself; and where, and to the extent that, it is able to so conserve itself, it proves its *shakti*, its efficiency; and the silent, unobtrusive, statical power by which it holds itself together may, in fact be greater in amount than the power by which another thing merely drifts. India's statical or potential power, for example, may thus be greater than Europe's restive and turbulent power. Statical power does not strike the imagination or compel the senses; hence one may *mistake* it for weakness or inefficiency or inertia. But it is *not* that. The power by which India has maintained her cultural continuity in the face of many impacts and cataclysms, is not, therefore, a power that can be either neglected, or should be underrated. Any modern movement, which can bring itself into rapport with the deeper centres of *this* power, is sure to prove a powerful and, ultimately, an irresistible movement. Nay; beneath the stolid mass of inertia and inactivity which has settled upon India's being like a crust, deeper currents of life are still flowing; so that any movement of Indian regeneration, which we may in future think

of setting on foot, must aim at having its sources connected with, and supplied by, these deeper and perennial under-currents of Indian strength.

Meanwhile, it must be plainly recognised that the advice, so often repeated, to move with the times, contains a half-truth, and is therefore, misleading. There is no inherent virtue in such movement, and no salvation being necessarily and automatically attained by it. Such movement, unless consciously directed, does not even indicate power. It indicates rather absence of power. To indicate power, it must involve self-determination. And the moment self-determination is introduced, we have ideals or ends introduced. And when ideals or ends are introduced, an individual or society will *elect* either to move or not to move with the times, according as moving or not moving will best serve its ideal or ends. This really means an inversion of the common formula—adaptation to the environment: it is the environment that is sought to be progressively adapted to the demands of the ideals conceived by us as valuable. No civilization can indeed choose between the two simple alternatives—either to move or not to move. Either, self-determined, implies power or *Shakti*. Either, again, in helpless abandon or unmitigated inertia, implies collapse leading to death. We believe that if India has refused to move in certain matters, she has done so, in some of them at least, because she has *meant* to conserve, to withstand change. She has been able to do so, because her *Shakti* has not been dead in her. But obviously it will *not* do only to conserve; change is also required; and this change too India must determine by and for herself. Only in so determining it will she prove and build up her Swaraj.

The problem, therefore, is one of conservation as well as change: it cannot be simply the one or the other. And this problem is neither brought into any clearer relief, nor advanced any nearer to its solution, by our merely repeating parrot-like such shibboleths as "moving with the times", and so forth. We have seen that in the case of every civilization which is or pretends to be alive, the problem is twofold. Any defect in the solution of this problem, in its twofold implication, will vitiate, or otherwise decrease the effective value of, that civilization. India has gone down the slopes of power, *not* because she has moved with the times, *nor* because she has attempted to conserve her traditions, but because she has lately failed to co-ordinate her conservation with her transformation, her keeping with her changing: that is to say, to a certain extent and in some matters, she has conserved what she ought to have changed, and changed what she ought to have conserved. This implies that her essentially comprehensive thought and co-ordinating will, so remarkable in her ancient history, have respectively, lost a part of comprehensiveness and co-ordinating power. She has not lately seen all and looked after all, as was her habit in the past. This also is a general diagnosis, different perhaps from the fashionable one about moving with the times and so forth; but it can be made a basis for a more detailed and thorough examination which we hope to attempt in a future issue.

—*The Forum.*

JUST PUBLISHED

ABHOGA.

A rare and hitherto unpublished commentary on Kalpataru of Amalananda by Lakshmi Nrisimha. This commentary is exceedingly valuable as a help to the right understanding of both Kalpataru and Bhamati. The author criticises Parimala also in some places.

Part I.—Chatussutri, is now ready for sale.

Price Rs. 2 only, Postage extra.

Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam.

Is the Congress for Religious Reform?— II

BY G. HARISCHANDRA RAO.

concluded.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, another social reformer of some notoriety, wrote as follows in his Volume on Indian Social Reform:—

"In 1886, at Calcutta, nothing unfortunately was done. Discussion, however, was going on among the leaders of the Congress movement and other leaders of educated Indian thought and opinion whether the Congress itself as such should concern itself with social questions or whether a separate movement should be started for the discussion of such questions. There were several very weighty considerations dwelt upon by Messers. Dadabhai Naoroji, Badrudin Tyabji and W. C. Bonnerjee, in their Presidential Addresses at the Second, Third, and Eighth Congresses, as to why the Congress should not directly concern itself with the discussion of social subjects. So it was at last resolved after mature deliberation by, among others, Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunatha Rao, Mr. Mahadav Govind Ranade, Mr Narendranath Sen and Mr. Janakinath Ghosal, that a separate movement called the Indian National Social Conference, should be started for the consideration of subjects relating to our social economy. Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunadha Rao may be styled the Father of this Movement and Mr. Ranade its wet nurse."

Justice K. T. Telang, President, Third Social Conference, said:—

"Those who have hitherto criticised the National Congress and its proceedings, have, as we are aware, often twitted us with not paying sufficient attention to social reform and devoting our energies exclusively to the political improvement of the country. I think I may fairly say that such gatherings as these, which have met every year since the time of the Madras Congress, afford an adequate and conclusive answer to those criticisms."

7. There is not sufficient demand for social reform to include it in the Congress programme. If the interest taken by the people in social and political reform be equal, then the audience at a meeting of the Social Conference must be equal to that at a meeting of the National Cangress; it is not so, and, therefore, social reform is less popular than political reform; the former is, in fact, quite unpopular. Is it not, therefore, unjust to impose this upon those who attend the Congress for a different thing altogether? It is something like the infliction of a metaphysical sermon, upon persons who have come for enjoying a sensational drama!

Justice N G. Chandavarkar declared as follows concerning the attitude of the people towards social reform:—

"We no doubt lament at times that the majority of our educated countrymen are for political advancement and indifferent to social reform; that while the the number of those who attend the National Congress is very large and the number of those who do not attend it but sympathise with it even larger, the number of those who attend the Social Conference is very much smaller. We sometimes in a spirit of impatience complain that our political activities rather mar than favour the cause of social progress. And in proof of it ask ourselves to note the attempt to exclude the meetings of the Social Conference from the camp of the National Congress."

But he consoled himself thus:—

"Though the rank of the social reformers is thinner than the rank of the politicians, who can gainsay this

that since the time the National Congress is said to have awakened our political conscience, the social problem has been thrusting itself forward disturbing many a caste, and awakening our social conscience also (p. 322 of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's Volume, *Indian Social Reform*).

And Mr. Chandavarkar did so on this principle:–

"My point rather is that all activities, be they political, material, religious, or social, have a mutually inter-acting influence. The desire for progress in one direction does tell and must tell, though slowly and imperceptibly, by creating a desire for progress in the other directions as well." (p. 320.)

If so, why should any one complain that the Congress did not allow the discussion of social questions in its meetings? Let it contribute to the political progress of the country and that will naturally lead to progress in other directions!

The talk that others have neglected social reform and that therefore the Congress must take up this work is, then, sheer bombast.

Justice Telang says:—

"But this I do say, that political reform is entitled to a greater share of our energies than social, under the circumstances we have got to deal with. Every one of us cannot devote himself to every one of the numerous reforms which are wanted. Extraordinary natural gifts may enable one person, like, for instance, my friend Mr. Ranade, to devote himself successfully to many modes of activity at one and the same time. But this is not possible to us all. Therefore in dividing our energies, if we have to divide them, between political and social reform, I hold that the greater portion of our energy legitimately can, and therefore ought to, be devoted to the former."

It is, therefore, not social but political reform that is the supreme need of the hour!

8. Members of one community generally dislike the discussion of their social evils in the presence of other people. There is a feeling of shame or resentment in such cases. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, President of the 8th Congress, remarked as follows:—

"I am one of those who have very little faith in the public discussion of social matters; those are things which, I think, ought to be left to the individuals of a community who belong to the same social organization, to do what they can for its improvement. We know how excited people become when social subjects are discussed in public. Not long ago we had an instance of this when what was called the Age of Consent Bill was introduced into the Vice-regal Legislative Council. I do not propose to say one word as to the merits of the controversy that arose over that measure, but I allude to it to illustrate how apt the public mind is to get agitated over these social matters if they are discussed in a hostile and unfriendly spirit in public." (Congress Report, p. 11.)

Babu Narendranath Sen, presiding in the absence of Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar, President-elect of the Fourth Social Conference, frankly admitted the unpopularity of social reform:—

"Probably, it, (the gathering,) would have been much larger, if the people had been assured betimes that this Conference would not ask for legislative interference in the matter of Hindu marriage customs."

When therefore, the Congress issues mandates altering the social customs of the land and further seeks to enforce the same by a systemmatic campaign of civil or criminal disobedience, then it makes the country rise in revolt against this tyranny.

9. The Congress defies the religious authorities of the land by interfering with religion. Is not the man who sets himself up as king in opposition to the generally acknowledged Sovereign a rebel? The opposition will be manifest where the Congress issues mandates contrary to the precepts of religion; and even where the Congress to pretends to work in apposition it must be considered as impostrous until it unequivocally recognizes the suzerainty of those, who alone have been accepted by the people as their religious leaders. Now, is the Congress prepared for such subordination? If not, it must not enter the domain of religion.

10. There is no limit to these social reforms. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee made the following statement:—

"I may point out that we do not all understand in the same sense what is meant by social reform. Some of us are anxious that our daughters should have the same education as our sons, that they should go to the Universities, that they should adopt learned professions; others, who are more timid, would be content with seeing that their children are not given in marriage when very young, and that child-widows should not remain widows all the days of their lives. Others more timid still, would allow social problems to solve themselves. It is impossible to set any common ground, even as regards the members of the same community, be it Hindu, Mahammadan, or Parsee, with respect to these matters. Thus it was that social questions were left out of the Congress programme; thus it was that the Congress commenced and has since remained, and will, I sincerely trust, always remain, as a purely political organisation devoting its energies to political matters and political matters only." (Congress Report)

We should never allow the Congress to set a precedent: it will go on making one change after another according to the caprices of the leaders or ringleaders until it has undermined all the foundations of our society the Congress must be curbed before it is too late.

The Influence of the Press on the Development of Empire.

By The Right Hon. VISCOUNT BURNHAM, C.H.

concluded.

Charles Dickens himself wrote the introductory article in the *Daily News* as a Liberal paper. "We hold it to be impossible rationally to consider the true interests of the people as a class question, or to separate them from the interests of the merchant or manufacturer. Therefore, it will be no part of our function to widen any breach that may unhappily subsist or may arise between employer and employee, but it will be rather our effort to show their true relations, their mutual dependence, and their mutual power of adding to the sum of general happiness and prosperity." The sentiments expressed in all these declarations of policy are sound and sensible, but they lacked the note of Imperial patriotism which was to be sounded so loudly in the closing years of Queen Victoria's reign. When they were written, the Colonies, to quote James Anthony Froude, in his *English in the West Indies*, were universally regarded "as a burden upon our resources of which we were to relieve ourselves at the earliest moment." He recounts a conversation he had about that time with a high Colonial official closely connected with the West Indian Department, who told him that they were to be masters of their own destinies either to form free communities like the Spanish American Republics, or to join the United States, or to do what they pleased with the sole understanding that we were to have no more responsibilities. These proposals the West Indies altogether repudiated, and, after all, the future of the West Indies will have to be settled according to West Indian interests, West Indian ideas, and

West Indian prejudices The Caribean Sea was "the cradle of the Naval Empire of Great Britain on which France and England fought for the Ocean Empire, and England won it." I do not believe that the West Indies will ever dissociate their fortunes from the majestic traditions of the British Empire.

The newspaper Press of England had, from the first a natural and reasoned faith in the doctrines of constitutional liberty and equal justice. Years before it was said by a certain Lord Essex, one of George III's minor Ministers, that Mr. Grenville lost America because he read the American despatches, which his predecessors had never done. That was what was called the rule of Downing Street, and the crusty and musty rule of the old Downing Street was not much liked in the British Dominions. Before there could be any voluntary co-operation in the countries that make up our ocean commonwealth, the backward and blundering spirit of the old Downing Street had to be exercised once and for all. As the years went by and the outer parts of the Empire began, to use a modern phrase, to realise themselves, the selfish and self-seeking conduct of Colonial affairs gradually disappeared, but the evil that it did lives after it, and is to be traced in most of the diminishing disagreements, in which the Mother Country is still involved from time to time with her filial and affiliated communities across the seas.

It is nearly forty years since I entered public life as the youngest member of the House of Commons, and during that long period of Colonial policy I have never known the British Press, as judged by its more important organs, otherwise than friendly and favourable to colonial aims and aspirations; in fact, the articles have uniformly breathed the feelings of sympathy and understanding of Colonial difficulties, far more so than the House of Commons, where mercantile and industrial suspicions on the part of all parties at times and not least of the Labour Socialists have had far more frequent expression, and have exercised a more penetrating influence.

In his last book on *Democracy*, my late friend, the eminent historian and statesman, the late Lord Bryce, questioned the value of Press criticism and deprecated the vices of Press government. He said before you bowed down to it, you had to know what were the real sources of its policy. Sometimes the realities were too realistic for right or reason. It may be so, and far be it from me to suggest in these days, when we make an idol and often a fetish of democracy, without even enquiring whether it is working for human freedom or veiled tyranny, that it is not the duty of a good citizen to think out his politics and his economics for himself. But it is unlikely that he will do this in nine cases out of ten—I had almost said in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred—by the natural light of his own abilities. Lord Morley, who was the greatest of the living journalists, once said : "I can only say this : There is no body who is not bound to recognise that the Press is a great centre and fountain of public-hearted duty and a real force; that it is the guide to an intellectual grasp of the facts of the world, and that it is, in its best form, an organ of practical commonsense.

Edmund Burke compares newspapers to "a battery in which the stroke of one ball piroduces no effect, but the amount of continual repetition is decisive." That is what makes the influence of the Press so powerful in these days. The batteries have an unlimited range, and an indefinite series. As political power is extended, at any rate in form, by the widest extension of the suffrage for Parliamentary Government until it is practically universal, so does it become increasingly difficult to find the means of coming into touch with the individual voter and to get mind to work on mind. In some countries as in America, and Australia, constituencies are of immense extent; in others, as in England, they are of unmanageable numbers. The old idea of popular government by Parliamentary machinery, which depended on mutual acquaintance and familiarity and was first consummated on the hustings in our elections to the House of Commons, where every elector met the candidates at the poll, has vanished into a remote past, together with the Knight of the Shire, and the Burges of the Close Corporation. There is only one effective way of getting at the mind of an electorate under the conditions which prevail in democratic countries to-day and that is by the agency of the newspaper Press. Somebody has said, that "every drop of our blood is coloured by the Press. Let us make the newspapers and I care not who makes the religion and the laws." It is not only the means of publication which the Press has at its disposal, but what I regard as unfortunately on the increase, but not less potent in its effect on the popular judgment—the means of suppression What is left out of the newspapers may be not less important than what is put in. The inevitable tendency in small newspapers is to give a sentence, often dragged from its context, instead of a speech, or an unqualified conclusion to represent a qualified argument. Then, again, the silencing of unpopular and sectional views in public questions by refusal to publish them is an evident danger, although it is only fair to say that it is much less obvious and less likely in the Press than in Parliament. In every truth, I hold that the Press has been the great protector of minorities in these days of mob rush and direct action. So long as there is division and variety of ownership, the defects and disabilities of the Press cancel one another. By force of competition, provided it be free and uncontrolled, the various interests and opinions that exist in a free and self-respecting community find expression, both in editorial articles and correspondence, which they can find in no other way. On the platform and in Parliament minorities are often ruthlessly suppressed by public clamour and factious intolerance, not to speak of the personal outrage and sudden death, as for example we recently saw them at large in the Irish Free State.

The truth is that more and more in the world at large, but especially in the English-speaking world, the ultimate sanctions are imposed by public opinion. Old Metternich said a hundred years ago that it was a good guide but a bad master, but now for better or for worse it has obtained the mastery of the State and the State machinery. The question will always crop up, what is public opinion ? just as "Jesting Pilate" asked the question, what is truth? How can it be estimated and assessed? Who is the licensed interpreter of its moods and tendencies ? None can measure it with the scientific accuracy of a mathematical instrument; it must always depend upon the qualifications of the army of interpreters who claim, like the astrologer of old, to be able to read the secrets of the stars. Astrology may not be an exact science, but the newspapers are incomparably the best astrologers that we have, and by comparing their works we can make a fair deduction which, if not free frum error, is at least better founded than most others. This is in respect of the future trend of the public mind. In regard to the present their data and information enable the papers to interpret with a fullness of evidence that replaces astrology by astronomy, the counterfeit by the reality, the probable by the actual. Even in working out the future, the newspaper has a privilege that the astrologer only pretended to enjoy, even in the practice of his quackery. It can help materially to verify its own forecastes. Unlike the politician the newspaper is not tied to a party caucus or a trade hall, nor is it holding its future at the disposal of a cabal or a camarilla. If a single community is thus ruled by public opinion, which is being ever reinforced by easy and abundant communications, it is even more true of a loosely-knit organization of many nations and many races like the British Empire—which is indeed a "mysterious whole held together by chains not made out of shreds of parchment."

The health and wealth of the Commonwealth which we call the British Empire depends entirely on the public opinion of its different parts, or perhaps, to speak more precisely, on its effective expression. This is what makes it so important that there should be the fullest under-

Continued on page 125.

தமிழ் நாவல்கள்.

திகம்பரஸ்வாமியார் அல்லது கும்பகோணம் வக்கீல்	Part I	1	8
	Do. II	1	8
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ராஜாத்தி	...	0	12
சுந்தரி அல்லது அந்தரப்பிழைப்பு	...	1	0
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ஸரஸ நேத்ரி	...	0	12
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மதுசூதனன்	...	0	8
விக்ரமோர் வசியம்	...	0	8
வீரவல்லி	...	0	12
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standing and goodwill between the various Dominions and Colonies of which it is constituted. Originally and historically the newspaper Press of the whole Empire has been built up on a common plan, even though in the case of the Dominion of Canada it may be altered to American adaptation, but it has the same general characteristics and cherishes the same general ideals. The newspapers of the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand are more English than many of the English papers, which have been so largely altered by American novelties. In Canada the British custom of six-day publication prevails, as I have said, as against the seven-day-week sheets that the United States has published since the days of the Civil War. When we newspaper men of the British Empire meet, it is wonderful how much we have in common and how little difference there is between us in the things that really matter. Although the newspaper of the British Empire may not be standardized, the standard of conduct and production is fairly even, and every year the necessity for common action in regard to news service and public recognition increases and widens. It was the brilliant idea of Sir Harry Britain to get together the leading men of the newspaper world throughout the Empire in the first Imperial Press Conference of 1909, over which my father had the honour to preside. This Conference was a remarkable assembly of power and publicity which attracted the attention, not only of the country, but of the whole world, because it was without precedent or parallel, and for the first time showed in personal embodiment the Herculean strength of the newspaper Press as it was then, and in the earnest of what it was to be. The great statesmen of that day, the great soldiers and the great sailors all addressed us, and Lord Rosebery gave his famous description of Europe as an armed camp "amid a silence in which you could hear a leaf fall." It was not only a revelation, it was a self-revelation of press power, which astonished none more than the leaders of the newspaper world.

The other day, Lord Milner who speaks with authority as one of the principal ministers of the great war, said that in his opinion nothing contributed so much to the united efforts of the British Empire in the war as the changed and bettered state of feeling which was the beneficent effect of the first Press Parliament. It had been our intention to hold a second Conference after five or six years in one of the self-governing Dominions, but it was obviously impossible to do so during the war years, and so it stood postponed until 1920, when the second Imperial Press Conference was held at Ottawa, on the invitation of the Dominion Government and the Canadian Press. Although the Conference itself lasted only four days, the visit lasted nearly three months, and was an unqualified success from beginning to end, and from shore to shore of the continental state. All that I wish to point out here is that it mightily stengthened the moral ties and professional attachment of the newspapers of the whole Empire.

Speaking in London a year ago, my friend and colleague, Lord Riddell, said that a Peace Conference of Editors might have succeeded better than the Peace Conference of Prime Ministers. There is many a true word spoken in jest or rather, as Gilbert Chesterton has put it, the only truth is an exaggeration. The editors, honourable as the "preachers of the modern world," as Carlyle called them, could not have pacified "a world in an uproar," to use George Washington's phrase, but they could have brought about a better state of international feeling, had they so willed. They could not have done so primarily, because the will to peace is not with us in the great part of the world to-day. Within the Empire, however, we are on safe ground, and I believe that nothing will tend more to the appreciation, the contentment and the prosperity of all parts of the British Empire than a real and lasting Empire Press Union, with its autonomous branches in every one of the Dominions and Colonies of the British Crown.

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